554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
● 127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

156 833 838 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 [548] Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this [562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 ●127 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

• 127 /248 cont./ At this point we shall examine a number of registers to see for what purposes it is possible to use figures taken from them and for what purposes they cannot be used; if possible we shall at the same time give the reasons for our opinion.

The following registers were found in the adat community:

1. birth registers
2. death registers
3. marriage registers
4. divorce registers
5. land-tax registers
6. Indonesian notary registers
7. registers of reported misdemeanors
8. sentences handed down by courts of law
9. community labor registers
10. overnight registers
11. registration registers
12. school registers

Birth Registers

[193] 217 163 114 The imam of the adat community maintains the birth registers according to instructions passed on to him by the Kali of Goa. In the columns appear next to each other the names of the father, the mother, and the child; the kampong where the birth took place; a record of the fact whether the birth took place at night or during the day, the date of birth, and the sex of the child.

/249/ Notification is made when the child is a few weeks old. If the child dies before registration, the latter ordinarily does not take place, therefore. During a stay of six weeks I observed two such cases. These registers therefore cannot supply any reliable figures concerning infant mortality.